

[30th January 1931

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"No doubt, the matter has assumed some public importance. I want to know how it is urgent?"

* Mr. SAMI VENKATACHALAM CHETTI:—"The matter is urgent, because in the first place the public feeling is shocked. In the second place, if sufficient action is not taken at once, it is very likely that the Police will continue to conduct themselves in the same manner, which may result in very serious consequences. My statement is substantiated by the extremely unsatisfactory answers given by the hon. the Home Member on the floor of this House, following his statement, and I dare say you would see the necessity, the urgency and the importance of allowing this discussion."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The motion is in order. I want to know if any hon. Member objects. (After a pause.) Since no hon. Member has objected, the motion will be taken up for discussion.
...'' (Cries of 'to-morrow'.)

* The hon. Khan Bahadur Sir MAHOMED USMAN SAHIB Bahadur:—"To-day, Sir."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"Unless the Government want to have it to-morrow, it will have to be taken up to-day. The motion will be taken up for discussion at 4 o'clock this afternoon."

IV.—RESOLUTIONS ON MATTERS OF GENERAL PUBLIC INTEREST.

-(1) INTRODUCTION OF TOTAL PROHIBITION.

* Diwan Bahadur R. N. AROGYASWAMI MUDALIYAR:—"Mr. President, Sir, Mr. Singam Ayyangar who has drawn the ballot for this resolution has written to me to say that he is unwell and unable to attend the Council, and has asked some other hon. Member to move his resolution. May I ask, Sir, the permission of the House that my hon. Friend Mr. Yakub Hasan should move the resolution?"

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"Has the hon. Member, Mr. Yakub Hasan, the permission of the House to move Resolution No. 1 on the agenda?"

The House signified its approval.

* Mr. YAKUB HASAN:—"Mr. President, Sir, I beg to move:—

'That this Council recommends to the Government that total prohibition should be introduced at once at least in one district in this Presidency.'

"Sir, I have acquainted myself with all that has taken place in this Council in regard to this question of prohibition, and I have also read the Excise Advisory Committee's report that was submitted, and on which a resolution was passed that prohibition should be the goal and that it should be attained within a period of twenty years. My reading, Sir, of the proceedings of this Council on this subject, has created this impression in me, viz., that when the Justice Ministry was in power in

30th January 1931]

[Mr. Yakub Hasan]

the year 1926 when that resolution was passed, it appeared that all sorts of obstacles were thrown in the way of a proper decision being arrived at on this question. In fact, the attitude of the then Excise Minister, Sir Patro, who was the President of the Excise Advisory Committee and who had issued a note on the subject for the guidance of the members of that Committee, showed, and his handling of the subject also demonstrated, that at any rate he had no sympathy with the object the members of the Council evidently had in view. Soon after this resolution was passed, fresh elections took place, and instead of the Justice Ministry, another Ministry came into existence. Now that we have the Justice Ministry in power again, let me in the very beginning of my speech appeal to them that they should accept his resolution and take proper action which would be in conformity with the desire of the public at large. On one of the occasions when this question was tackled in the Council, it was propounded that the public opinion ought to be educated and that temperance ought to be preached to the people, so that gradually the people might realize the evils of drink and be prepared ultimately to give up drink voluntarily.

“A programme of propaganda work was then set on foot. 12
In Asiatic countries the religious convictions of the people take pre- noon.
cedence over public opinion. And here I need hardly say that in the East, drinking is considered a sin and every man who drinks knows, that he is doing a wrong thing. But that is not the case in the West, where people think that there is no harm in drinking. The right to drink is regarded there as a public right and any interference with that right is naturally resented. Public opinion has therefore to be considered before any action can be taken in a matter like prohibition in a European country. But in Asia where drinking is considered an evil, to take public opinion about prohibition is something like taking the opinion of the thieves as to whether thieving should be stopped by Law. It is ridiculous to ask the people of a particular area where a large number of them is addicted to drink whether they would vote for the prohibition of drink in that area. Western education, Sir, has no doubt, elevated the people in the East and has advanced them in civilization. But at the same time, Sir, in some directions the ideas of right and wrong which prevailed in the Eastern countries before, have been distorted. This question of drink is a glaring instance of an unhappy change in the moral perceptions of the oriental peoples. I was very grieved to see, when the question of prohibition was raised here, the members of the Council not treating it in the manner Eastern people were accustomed to treat it before the new orientation came in. They dealt with it as people deal with such a subject in the Western countries.

“Sir, I might appropriately mention here one personal incident. In 1919, when I gave evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, I was asked, ‘if self-Government were given to India, will not the Muslim members of the legislature attempt to bring about prohibition and thus throw away a large revenue that is

[Mr. Yakub Hasan]

[30th January 1931]

at present derived out of Excise, and will not this attitude of Muslim members seriously interfere with the proper administration of the country and embarrass the Government financially?' Considering the atmosphere in which I was then enshrouded in London and knowing with what motive that question was put to me, I said, 'Sir, the Muslim Members of the Legislature might be trusted to do what they would consider to be the right thing in this or any other matter.' I pointed out, Sir, that in India there were several Muslim States who had their Excise policy laid on the same lines as in the British provinces, that in Hyderabad a State ruled by a Muslim Nizam there is an Excise department, that there a large amount of revenue is derived from Excise, and that some Excise officers were, at one time sent to Madras for training.

"Since then, Sir, America has come to our rescue in a way and it has demonstrated to the world that even in a Western country where people were supposed to have certain fixed views on the question of drink the majority of the people recognized that objection to drink was not merely a religious scruple or only a goody goody moral sentiment, but it was also rationally based on considerations of physical health and national efficiency. Sir, after this great and unprecedented action taken in America the question of total prohibition was brought within the region of practical politics and it has become easier for the Eastern countries to take courage in their hands and boldly proceed with it and be not afraid of the jeers of the European people thrown in their faces.

"Sir, as I have pointed out to you in the beginning of my speech, this Council has adopted prohibition as the goal of its policy and the period of 20 years has been fixed within which total prohibition should come into force in this Presidency. I understand, Sir, that this period was fixed simply on financial considerations, so that Government may not suddenly lose a large amount of money in the shape of excise revenue, to replace which other resources may not be immediately found, if total prohibition is at once brought into force throughout the Presidency. But afterwards a new interpretation was put on the said resolution and it was said that we must wait till people are educated to recognize the evils of drinking, and that temperance propaganda must be proceeded with before any action is taken by the Government in the direction of total prohibition. I am entirely against the new procedure that the Council was led to adopt. I do not consider the temperance propaganda at all necessary. In my opinion all the money that is being spent on the propaganda is sheer waste. My proposal, Sir, is that it is high time now that we should take steps to put the original resolution into effect by enforcing total prohibition in one district at once. I do recognize, Sir, that if total prohibition were effected throughout the whole Presidency, it could be managed more easily and efficiently than would be the case if it is enforced in one district. But, Sir, the present Government being constituted as it is it is too much to expect them to be prepared to enforce prohibition in the whole of the Presidency in the near future. But in view of the fact

30th January 1931] [Mr. Yakub Hasan]

that now we are apparently on the eve of the day when a new constitution will be inaugurated and when we will have in the provinces, in any case, greater freedom to manage our affairs than we have to-day, we, on our part, at present are not prepared to insist on the prohibition being taken in hand for the whole Presidency immediately. But we must begin the work in one district as an experiment so that after a year or two, when we had surmounted all the difficulties that would naturally crop up in this experiment, we would be in a better position to overcome the difficulties that we would have to face when total prohibition is enforced throughout the Presidency, or it may be even throughout India. So, in my opinion we would be well advised to take the step I have the honour to propose. I would not take up more of your time by going into the details. Those who will come after me will speak on the other aspects of the proposition. With these words I place this proposition before you with a fervent appeal and an earnest hope that no consideration of finance like the present stringency of money or other supposed or real difficulties will influence you in doing what I consider to be your moral duty."

* Mr. T. S. RAMASWAMI AYYAR:—"Mr. President, Sir, I rise to second this resolution so ably moved by my hon. Friend, Mr. Yakub Hasan. The question of prohibition is as old as the hills and it does not require any arguments on the part of speakers either on this side of the House or on the other to support it. The only thing necessary in this connexion now is to know what the present Government propose to do. The last Government was a Government which tried the experiment of what may be called an anti-drink propaganda scheme. My hon. Friend, the Chief Minister, who was the Leader of the Opposition then, laughed in his sleeves when such a suggestion was being made and was being carried out. The hon. the Chief Minister then said that he had no faith in the way in which this question was sought to be tackled by the last Government. Prohibition is a crying need and it has been put forward by all the political parties in India. It is a matter which has always been put forward as perhaps the first item in the programme of almost all the various political bodies and in fact, each body has been vying with the other in putting it forward foremost and I take it that the party which now occupies the Treasury Bench has done similarly.

"Now, the question arises, whether, when they are in office, they are going to give practical effect to their programme. I trust the hon. the Chief Minister will follow up this programme by adopting a policy of total prohibition. It has been pointed out that the scheme of anti-drink propaganda is not effective. As it is now carried out by the Government what happens is: In a certain village the Excise authorities put up a toddy or arrack shop for sale and even if the public opinion is against drink and there are no bidders, the bidding on that day is postponed to another date; and even if there are no bidders on that postponed date it is again put off to another date until finally the Government are able to get some money out of the sale. After this,

12-16
P.M.

[Mr. T. S. Ramaswami Ayyar] [30th January 1931]

the Government propagandists go to the village and advise people not to drink. The people really laugh at this procedure and do not take the Government seriously. I have always felt that this is not the proper way in which the Government should handle the question of prohibition. There should be a straight fight on the issue. If any place is ripe for prohibition, the Government should come forward with a scheme of total prohibition and introduce it in that place. If a place or a district is not quite ripe for the introduction of total prohibition, it is up to the non-official bodies to create public opinion in that place and make the people take to prohibition. It is not the province of the Government to go and tell people in a locality not to drink when they themselves are opening drink shops in that locality. Really the position of Government is an anomalous one and it is no wonder that the present scheme has not been successful in spite of the hopes entertained by the late Ministry and perhaps by the present Ministry also.

“ Sir, I am glad that during the debate on this point the party that now occupies the Treasury Bench took a definite attitude. To prove this it is not necessary for me to quote in detail the several speeches made by the hon. Members on that occasion. It is enough for my purpose now, to state that the hon. the Chief Minister speaking on the budget debate last year referred to this question and in unequivocal terms said that prohibition was the only solution to the drink problem. It may be that now that he occupies a responsible place he may say, ‘what about finance?’ He may say that the present condition of the finances of this province does not encourage him to go forward with any scheme of prohibition. When he was the Leader of the Opposition he dealt with this question of finance. He said that the question of finance was not a material one. I would like him to stick to that position and to see that he does not explain it away by saying ‘The question of finance prevents me from taking it forward.’ May I in this connexion refer him to the speech that he made on the 19th March 1930? In that speech he said:

‘As regards the main question, the question is whether the Government would begin to try the experiment of prohibition in two districts; it will not involve an immediate fall in the income by more than 15 lakhs of rupees. For instance, Bellary and Chittoor or some other districts may be tried first. Probably, the Nilgiris or Cuddapah is the smallest area from the point of view of income.’

Further on in his speech he refers to the question of finance and says:

‘There is another aspect of the question. Suppose you introduce total prohibition in two districts and that there is real decrease of revenue from those two districts. It is possible that the increase in income from other districts will counterbalance the loss from these two districts.’

I ask him to entertain that hope even as a Member of the Treasury Bench.

And then he goes on to say:

‘We find that the income has been growing steadily. While the hon. the Finance Member said that the year 1927-28 was the period when the income rose to the highest, we find that the year 1929-30 is outbeating that period.’

30th January 1931] [Mr. T. S. Ramaswami Ayyar]

"In this connexion I would remind the House of what the hon. the Finance Member last year said when presenting the budget. He said that in spite of the anti-drink propaganda the excise revenue was going up. I have not got the figures for the current year; but I take it that the excise revenue is not going to fall very heavily. But even granting that it is going to come down a bit, I take it that it is not such a big proposition that it cannot be handled by the Ministry. In answer to some questions this morning it was stated that the Finance Committee had reduced the grant for anti-drink propaganda by about $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs and that the original grant was for $3\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs. I am glad that the cut was made, because it was felt by some of us that the organization for carrying on anti-drink propaganda was not really doing much good and that it did not really deserve the money voted for it last time. But at the same time we felt that unless provision was made in the coming budget for some money for anti-drink propaganda, this question could not be mooted in the Legislative Council. And further when the question of prohibition is put forward, we want that the Government should not turn round and say that there was no money for balancing the loss of income that might accrue consequent on the introduction of prohibition in one or two districts. So it is for that purpose that we thought that the grant should be there in the budget and not because we felt that the propaganda committees were doing much good.

"Now it is possible, Sir, that this question can be tackled. . . ."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The hon. Member has exceeded the time limit."

MR. T. S. RAMASWAMI AYYAR:—"I shall finish in a minute, Sir. Now that this question of prohibition being introduced in two districts has been put forward, it is up to the hon. the Minister for Excise to accept it and work it. I do trust the hon. Minister will not give us the sort of answer which we, who have been in the Legislative Council, have been accustomed to get from Members of the Treasury Bench who had been once members of the Opposition. I do not expect the hon. Minister to meet us with the plea 'For want of finance, in spite of my best attempts in the matter, I am not able to help you.' It has very often been the case with the members of the Opposition who put forward big ideas, when they are confronted with responsibility, to say, 'My present responsibilities make it impossible for me to act up to my ideas.' I trust that that plea would not be raised by the hon. the Excise Minister. With these few words, Sir, I commend this resolution to the favourable consideration of the House."

* Rao Sahib V. I. MUNISWAMI PILLAI:—"Mr. President, I beg to move the amendment standing in my name, namely:—

'In line 2 for words "at once" substitute the words "from 1st April next".'

"Sir, the reason why I have given notice of this amendment is that the financial year of the Government begins from the 1st

[Mr. V. I. Muniswami Pillai] [30th January 1931]

April and ends with the 31st March and the auction sales of shops take place generally during the month of February. If by chance this resolution is passed it will place the Government in a difficulty even if they are willing to carry it out immediately. They have engaged a big staff which they cannot possibly disband at short notice. Further, the whole of the arrangements now made including that for control will be dislocated. And I do not think there will be the possibility of the Government giving effect to it immediately. I entirely agree with the various reasons advanced by the mover and the seconder of this resolution."

Swami A. S. SAHAJANANDAM:—"I second the amendment."

Mr. YAKUB HASAN:—"I have no objection to accept the amendment."

* The hon the PRESIDENT:—"It is for the House to accept the amendment or reject it."

* Mr. K. KOTI REDDI:—"Mr. President, I beg to move the amendment to the effect

'that in line 2 for the words "one district" substitute the words "two districts".'

"I do not think there is any necessity to convince this House as to the goal to be reached, namely, total prohibition of intoxicating drinks in this Presidency, if not in the whole of India. This House has accepted that as the goal and it has fixed a maximum period of twenty years to reach that goal. I believe, Sir, the world has moved very much since the adoption of that resolution by this Council, and everybody now recognizes the necessity for reaching that goal in as short a time as possible. The Civil Disobedience Movement has brought to the forefront this problem, namely, the urgent necessity for introducing total prohibition in this country. We are all aware, Sir, that in spite of the declarations for creating a peaceful atmosphere in connexion with the proposals of the Round Table Conference, Mahatma Gandhi has said that so far as boycott and picketing of liquor shops are concerned, the work ought to go on.

12-30 P.M. "I believe, Sir, it is rather unhappy that this Government should have taken into their heads to mix the two problems, viz., the attainment of total prohibition by picketing and the desire on the part of the people to attain self-government by means of civil disobedience or otherwise. Whatever the results of the Round Table Conference may be, so far as the drink problem is concerned, total prohibition must be attained. The only doubt is, if at all there is any doubt, with regard to the methods to be adopted for achieving total prohibition. Every method such as licensing, rationing, increasing the price, etc., for putting down drink evil has been tried in the past but to no purpose. Therefore the only possible and practicable method of achieving this goal is outright prohibition. So far as this method is concerned, the difficulty of finding substituted finance comes in.

30th January 1931]

[Mr. K. Koti Reddi]

Recently in connexion with the propaganda work regarding total prohibition, in the actual working of it we had to encounter certain difficulties. It was thought that Revenue and Excise officials would help in the matter of propaganda, but I am afraid that instead of helping the lecturers and the propagandists in their propaganda they have proved a great hindrance. Any amount of trouble is given by these officials. It is only the other day that a village munsif by name Thimma Reddi in the district of Anantapur was dismissed from service on the charge of advising the people of the village not to bid at the auctions although he denied it. That is the state of affairs with regard to propaganda that is going on now. Any amount of trouble is given particularly by the overjealous Excise officials to the village munsifs who are prepared to give some little help to the propagandists. I need not take much of the time of the House. The real question is how long are you going to take to bring about total prohibition? No doubt financial stringency in this Presidency is such that one will find some difficulty in attaining this goal in a very short time. If the Government really recognize the necessity for doing this, some active and immediate steps must be taken in that direction. Government are prepared to spend any amount of money in what they consider to be necessities. They are prepared to spend large sums of money on office buildings and residential quarters and what not. They are not prepared to effect as we learnt this morning any retrenchment in the administration. You know that our country incurs the heaviest expenditure for administration when compared with its poverty. Nowhere in the world you will find such comparatively high salaries being given to officials. The increase in administrative expenditure during the last decade or so is more than double. If the Government are really anxious and if the Government are really keen on this matter, I do appeal to them that some steps should be taken and finance should be found for this purpose. I really want to know if they are serious or not. I particularly insist on this point. I cannot rely on the Government's excuse that for want of finance they have not been able to bring about total prohibition. What has happened to finance during the last ten years during which we have been agitating to attain prohibition. There was then enough finance. The annual subsidy of three crores of rupees was remitted to this Presidency by the Central Government and we prayed this Government to ear-mark that amount for meeting the deficit in connexion with the attainment of total prohibition. But they have not moved; and not only that, they have spent it on administration. So I do not believe that owing to financial stringency the Government do not come forward to tackle this problem. It only shows that they are not serious. I only ask if they are really serious. If they are really serious, money could and ought to be found by some means. I do hope that this House will be ready to vote for the money, if necessary. I think if the Government have a mind, money could be found by some means or other. If necessary the people and this House should be prepared for fresh taxation. But I do not think that such a contingency has arisen. There is scope for retrenchment to any extent in the administrative expenditure. If it is found that such a thing is not possible and if it is found

[Mr. K. Koti Reddi] [30th January 1931]

that it is absolutely necessary that we should resort to fresh taxation, I think we are prepared for such a situation rather than see that our people are ruined owing to this drink evil. With these few words I beg to move the amendment."

* Mr. C. R. PARTHASARATHI AYYANGAR:—"Sir, it is no use reiterating resolutions after resolutions, however pious and sincere they may appear to be. What is the use of passing such resolutions without taking any steps at the next moment to achieve our object? On the other hand steps are being taken to counteract our propaganda. For instance the experiment is being tried in some districts for the purpose of preaching to the people to refrain from taking excise licences and also drink. What is it that we find there? Are the Government doing anything to help us in our propaganda? As a matter of fact the village officers who could best co-operate with us refuse to do so now, because they say they will be deprived of their jobs if they do such things. They refuse to take part even in the organization of meetings. For instance I happen to be a member of the Temperance Propaganda Committee and when we asked the village magistrate and the karnam to assist us in organizing a meeting for the purpose of addressing the people on the evils of drink, they replied, 'If you want to keep our appointments you had better not ask us to take part in such meetings.' There are two other instances which I wish to refer to. One is that the Superintendent of Police who must issue licences to temperance vans refused to do so. He thought that we are all misguided people working, not for temperance purposes, but for achieving our own party's ends. It was a very long time before the van could be recognized as belonging to us as the right sort of people to do propaganda work. The other thing is that big pamphlets were issued by the Central Publicity Bureau and placards were posted on pillars and walls to educate the people about the evils of drink. All these posters were summarily pulled down by the Police people.

"It is also a well-known fact that non-official opinion is trying to induce the people to become pious. But on the other hand in order to counteract this kind of work done by the non-officials, public officers are inducing the people to come and bid at arrack and toddy sales. Private instructions are issued to the officials by higher officials to the effect that they must see that auction sales fetch the highest possible prices. Therefore there is no use of the Ministers pretending and saying that they are the representatives of the people and that they are trying to do their best to see that people become virtuous and so on. If the State is really interested in the welfare of the people they must see that this evil is put an end to as early as possible.

"I want to ask one simple question. How long is this humbug to go on, I mean the insincerity and dishonesty on the part of the Government? Are there not people, even officials, who feel in their own conscience that it is impossible that the State should be governed by two sets of people? Is the first principle in life, viz., honesty, to be used as a synonym for political humbug? In every religion you will find that one of the great heinous signs is drinking. It is only in this

30th January 1931] [Mr. C. R. Parthasarathi Ayyangar]

country which has no responsible Government that we are allowed to perpetrate this huge fraud on the public saying that we are doing everything for the benefit of the people. Is this sincerity? That is the only point I want to ask you. You can pass any number of resolutions, for one district, two districts and so on. But what is the use? Unless there is an upheaval that this state of affairs ought not to be tolerated for one moment, no change can take place in this unfortunate country, because the Ministers cannot do anything themselves independently. They can talk to you anything they please, but what is the use? What is the ultimate goal? Does the State exist for the benefit of the people or does it exist for the benefit of those who draw huge salaries? Otherwise what is the object of creating listed posts carrying a salary of Rs. 500 which are open to only a few people? It seems to me to be a scandal to allow this sort of thing to go on. The fundamental principle of every administration must be sincerity and honesty. Without showing such sincerity, to go on pretending that we are doing everything for the benefit of the people would only affect the very vitals of the administration. So in the name of sincerity and honesty, if the Government really want to do anything they must make some sacrifice. Unless those people who draw fat salaries are willing to make a reduction in their salaries so that the deficit which would arise as a result of prohibition in the department may be compensated by such a reduction in salaries, there is no hope of achieving the desired goal. I want the House and those responsible for the administration of the country to remember that the State exists not for the benefit of ourselves, but for the benefit of those who are poor and suffering. You may remember the saying that the tears of the poor undermine the thrones of kings. It has come to that extreme point now. Are you going to raise us or to pull us down still further? If the Government are really sincere in this matter, some steps should be taken towards retrenchment or some other method should be adopted to see that this resolution is given effect to."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The two amendments as well as the main motion are for the consideration of the House."

Diwan Bahadur M. GOPALASWAMI MUDALIYAR:—"Mr. President, Sir, I also beg to support the proposition, viz., that we should try prohibition in two districts. I think that, on that point, there is no difference of opinion in this House so far as I am able to judge and that this is the time when we ought to begin prohibition at least in some districts. If we find that it is practicable and feasible from the financial point of view, then we can extend prohibition to other districts. As a practical man, I am not unaware of the difficulties of trying prohibition in one or two districts, because we must also consider that prohibition has its impracticabilities since people have a craving for drink. In order to make people not to have this craving, we must also educate them to give up this habit. I do not think there is any person either in this country or anywhere in the world who does not realize that drinking is an evil habit; even persons addicted to drink realize that it is an evil habit. Still if they drink, it is because of circumstances beyond their control.

12-45
p.m.

[Mr. M. Gopalaswami Mudaliyar] [30th January 1931]

For example we are addicted to drinking tea and coffee several times in a day and on account of this custom and habit, we cannot control ourselves. It is the same case with them also. Therefore we must not only introduce prohibition but also adopt some methods by which we can educate the people. Some methods were suggested by my hon. Friend, Mr. Khalif-ul-lah Sahib, when he presided over a Temperance Conference. We must adopt those methods. They are:—Help in the growth of public opinion against the drink habit in several localities among the drinking classes; advise people not to let trees for toddy; advise contractors not to bid at auction of toddy shops; see that caste panchayats exercise social discipline; organize and issue of leaflets in vernaculars; enlist the sympathy of women workers and teachers who are employed in various schools and inculcate the principles of better living. If we have such a huge organization not at the expense of the Government, not at the expense of the poor ratepayers but with the help of volunteers, non-official gentlemen, or various organizations already existing and which may be brought into existence hereafter such as the Christian Temperance Association, we can certainly and successfully introduce prohibition in one or two districts. If we can show to the world that we are capable of doing this, then, I think, the goal which has been laid down and adopted by hon. Members not only on this side but also on the other side of the House, is practical and that it can certainly be reached. Unless we adopt the methods I have suggested above, we cannot successfully introduce prohibition in one or two districts. I may also mention, Sir, that we are almost on the transitory stage; we are now working the diarchic system; it is in its last stages or in its last breath; I think we are ringing its death-knell; in a couple of years this diarchic system will be abolished. When we have a large number of people's representatives assembled in the Legislative Council and when it is the will of the nation that prohibition should be introduced, not only throughout the whole Presidency, but also throughout the whole of India, we will certainly be able to give effect to this policy. Therefore, I commend this resolution very heartily to this House."

* Sriman M. G. PATNAIK Mahasayo:—"Sir, this resolution consists of two parts. What does prohibition mean? Does it mean closing down of the liquor shops? The resolution aims at something more. Along with the closing down of shops, you must also see that illicit liquor is not manufactured. Two things have to be done by the Government in order to introduce prohibition. You ask the Government to close down liquor shops. If that is done, the Government will lose some money. The further act they have to do is they must see that no illicit liquor is manufactured either in that particular district or in the adjoining districts."

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—"Public opinion will do it."

Sriman M. G. PATNAIK Mahasayo:—"That is a different question. If there is public opinion there is no need for penal measures. If there is public opinion this resolution is not necessary at all. Suppose there is a liquor shop and nobody goes there to drink at all. Then the liquor shop

30th January 1931] [Sriman M. G. Patnaik Mahasayo]

will be closed immediately. In that case this resolution need not be passed at all. What this resolution wants is that a certain class of people should be forced to do a certain act against their wishes, even though it may be beneficial to them. The hon. Member who moved the resolution says that that should be done even against the wishes of the people. Suppose there are people in a particular area who are addicted to drink. You want to force them not to drink. You can do so in two ways; one is to close the liquor shops; the second is to penalize the manufacture of illicit liquor. If these things are meant by the resolution, I, for one, am for this resolution. Ask the Government to remove liquor shops, and to introduce prohibition. Then Government must take an active part in preventing the manufacture of illicit liquor and the smuggling of liquor. In this view I say this resolution is rather guarded. I see the difficulty of introducing prohibition all at once. So, let us gradually introduce it."

"We have to understand what 'district' means. Does it mean revenue district? You want that prohibition should be introduced in a particular area. You do not mind whether it is introduced in one district or two districts. Two districts may be clubbed together. I think 'district' means only a portion of the country. If the Government make up their mind to introduce prohibition in this double sense, in a particular area, I think we must be satisfied. The Government will put forward the theory that they are not able to give effect to this resolution because there will be fall in revenue. If the Government say so, nobody will have any sympathy with them. It has been decided that prohibition is the goal. That question need not be considered now. That question has been decided once for all. Nobody here will say that prohibition is not our goal. The only question now before us is how that goal is to be attained. We ask the Government to do two things, not only to close down the shops, but also see that illicit liquor is not manufactured. It does not matter whether prohibition is introduced in one district or one taluk or in one village. It has to be introduced in a portion of the country.

"Unless public opinion also supports the action of the Government, we will be simply forcing people to do certain things against their wishes. Of course, in these days even if a man wants to do a bad act, we cannot force him to do a good act. We should do that. There is self-determination; that principle has to be accepted. Suppose in this Council there are about 100 hon. Members who want to do a thing which is considered to be wrong by outsiders; what would be the effect? The result will be that the bad thing will be accepted by the House. There is the question of self-determination. How can you force people to do a certain thing which they do not like? What right have you to force it upon them? Therefore first of all, public opinion should be prepared for the introduction of prohibition.

"Of course, the Government have adopted certain methods in this matter, but I think they are neither satisfactory nor useful; because nobody pays any regard to people who preach on payment, to hired

[Sriman M. G. Patnaik Mahasayo] [30th January 1931]

pracharakas. As has been pointed out already, the position of the Government also is anomalous. The Government have been encouraging this illicit traffic and they have been getting ill-gotten wealth; of course, they spend a portion of this ill-gotten wealth on something like charities. I think this has been done to appease public opinion, nothing more than that; it has no other meaning. I think we may all be satisfied if prohibition is introduced in any particular area which the Government may choose. I know that Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao is doing some work in this matter and he has specified certain localities in which prohibition may be introduced. I think prohibition should be introduced in those localities. Hon. Members have been very loud in complaining against the Government; but I would like to know what each one of us has done in preaching for prohibition, and in creating public opinion in its favour. Of course, every one of us owes this duty to the public. And in fact the work done by honorary workers will command greater respect than that done by hired pracharakas."

The House then adjourned for lunch to meet again at 3 p.m.

After Lunch (3-p.m.)

* Mr. D. THOMAS:—"Mr. President, Sir, from what all the Members who have previously spoken on this motion in this Council, it is quite obvious that there is no Member of this House who is in principle opposed to the purpose and the object which underly this motion. The last Council by a unanimous vote pledged itself to carry out the policy of prohibition within a period of twenty years, and I believe the present Council does not in any way differ from the policy adopted and carried out by the last Council. The only question now is how and under what circumstances and to what extent we can make a beginning in achieving that goal which has been laid down. One of my hon. Friends, Mr. Ramaswami Ayyar, in seconding the original motion said that one of the hon. Members who is now occupying the Treasury Benches expressed as non-official Member, that the question of finance was immaterial. I believe that no Member either on the Treasury Bench or outside it can say that in the matter of carrying out the policy of prohibition, finance is immaterial. The only thing that is really material is finance, and you have to find it sooner or later—and the sooner the better. In those circumstances, it is obvious, and as my friend Mr. Parthasarathi Ayyangar said, it is incumbent on us to see that we do not lay ourselves open to the charge of humbug or insincerity. We ought to show ourselves that we are willing, that we are ready, and that we are earnest in starting the policy of prohibition, which would eventually end in our achieving the goal of total prohibition. The question to be considered now is: to what extent can you make a beginning at the present juncture? Already, the policy of prohibition has been put into actual working by the previous Ministry. Certain taluks in certain districts of the Presidency were declared to be prohibited areas, in which liquor shops

30th January 1931]

[Mr. D. Thomas]

or toddy shops, as the case may be, were closed down. The then Government also adopted the policy of setting up Temperance Propaganda Committees for the purpose of doing propaganda work. We have heard various hon. Members on the floor of this House expressing their disappointment and dissatisfaction at the actual results achieved by these Temperance Propaganda Committees; but what I believe is important with reference to these temperance committees is not the actual outturn of work that they have been able to carry out, but the indication, the gesture made by the Government that they are pledged to a policy of prohibition. I believe the last Government made a gesture in favour of ultimately carrying out the policy of prohibition by appointing these temperance committees. And so far, that gesture has been valuable. But now I think the time has come for us to carry out the matter a bit further and not to confine these prohibition areas to merely scattered taluks in various districts of the Presidency, but to try the experiment on a larger scale such as in a revenue district. In this connexion, I may mention that the selection of particular taluks during the last ministry was not very happy. In my own district of Tinnevely, a particular taluk, viz., Tenkasi was prohibited, and all foreign liquor or arrack shops were closed down in that taluk. If it was the deliberate purpose of the Government to select an area in which prohibition might prove a failure, if the Government deliberately set out to devise ways and means by which prohibition could be shown to be ineffective, they could not have hit upon a better area than the Tenkasi taluk. It so happens, Sir, that the Tenkasi taluk closely abuts and adjoins the Travancore State which is not in our control, and therefore, smuggling cannot be effectively prevented by the officers of the British Excise Department. I, therefore, think that greater care should be taken in selecting a wider area for trying this experiment of prohibition. If a large area such as a revenue district is selected for the purpose, where public opinion is already ripe in this respect, there will be a certain amount of general co-operation from the people and from honorary bodies throughout the district, and I trust that such a district will be pre-eminently fitted for trying this experiment of prohibition.

“ One of the hon. Members who spoke before me remarked that prohibition implied two things, one the closing down of liquor or arrack shops as the case may be and the other the prevention of illicit manufacture and illicit smuggling and that some special penal measures will have to be passed for the purpose of preventing illicit smuggling and illicit manufacture. But I take it that even under the present state of things, the provisions in the Abkari Act which prevent illicit smuggling and manufacture can be applied not only to areas where the system of licensing is in vogue, but also to prohibited areas. The mere fact that prohibition is adopted in any particular district or area does not annul or suspend the operation of the penal provisions of the Abkari Act against smuggling or illicit manufacture and illicit possession of arrack, toddy or liquor. Therefore, if such a revenue district is selected for this experiment, and if, as is done in the case

[Mr. D. Thomas]

[30th January 1931]

of licensing, an excise staff is maintained for the purpose of seeing that there is no illicit smuggling or illicit manufacture, then the experiment of prohibition in that particular district will be found to be a success and we will be in a position, as ways and means are found out as time goes on, to extend it to the other districts.

"In this connexion, I may also mention that there is always the danger that when a particular area is prohibited, people on the border line of this area will be in a position to go over into non-prohibited areas, and smuggle in illicit liquor both within and the borders of the prohibited area. It is in connexion with that danger that it becomes important to see that the area selected is sufficiently large. That is why I consider that on the whole it will be better, instead of trying this experiment in various scattered small taluks in different parts of the Presidency, to try it in a single large district in which smuggling will not be possible, at any rate to a large extent. In this matter, I agree with the hon. Members who said that the Temperance Propaganda Committees have not been able to do solid or substantial work. (Hear, hear.) I believe, as I said already, that the only result of the appointment of these committees is that the Government have shown that they have pledged themselves to the policy of prohibition. Apart from that, I would suggest now that all over the province there are co-operative societies which are doing now mainly credit work—that if these co-operative societies and their agencies are utilized for propaganda work, they will be able to do more intensive and better work than the temperance committees themselves; they will be able to reach the heart of the villages in the various districts, and at the same time they will not require any financial assistance from the Government as in the case of these temperance committees.

"So far as the main question of ultimate total prohibition in the province is concerned, that is a matter which cannot be considered or carried out apart and by itself. It is a large question which has to be considered along with the other departments of administration in the province, *e.g.*, along with the question of retrenchment of services, with the question of economy in various branches of the Government, with the question as to what further additional or supplementary sources of revenue or taxation should be tapped, etc. It is by a general consideration of the necessities of all departments of the administrative machinery in the province, by considerations of strict economy and retrenchment in all directions and by an honest and sincere, and if necessary, a self-sacrificing effort—it is only on a consideration of all these things that we can carry out the policy of prohibition. I also believe that finance is the most important factor in Government machinery."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The hon. Member is exceeding his time limit."

* Mr. D. THOMAS:—"I have, therefore, very great pleasure in supporting the principle which underlies the resolution which has been brought before the House, and I hope that the hon. the Minister for Excise will be in a position to accept this resolution."

30th January 1931]

* The hon. Diwan Bahadur S. KUMARASWAMI REDDIYAR:—" Sir, if the proposition now under discussion before the House is regarded as a recommendation that on the 1st of April 1931, two districts in this Presidency, whatever the cost thereof may be and whatever their conditions may be, should be made absolutely dry, I do not think I can accede to a proposition like that. If two districts are to be selected for these operations, it would mean that the other districts will have to wait till the districts which have been so chosen have become completely dry. And where public opinion, though not actively supporting any such measures, happens to be definitely hostile, I am sure hon. Members of this House will agree with me when I say that the task of introducing total prohibition would not only meet with very great practical difficulties, but would involve immense cost. But, I regard this resolution, as certain hon. Members of this House who have spoken on it have done, as only a reiteration of the policy that has been laid down on the floor of this House on more than one occasion and a recommendation to the Government that they must aim, with all reasonable and practicable speed, towards the progressive realization of the ideal of total prohibition, which, the Council has said, should be reached within a reasonable period of time—which they have laid down as 20 years. If the resolution is to be viewed in that light—though it is not so in letter, I regard that in spirit to be that—I may say that the resolution has got my fullest sympathy. I must just say a few words with regard to the history of the various resolutions that have been, from time to time, moved on the floor of this House. It was in February 1926, after a great deal of discussion, a resolution was adopted in the House that the declared policy of the Government is total prohibition of drink, the ultimate goal being attained within a period of 20 years; that resolution had a rider, which I would commend to the careful consideration of the hon. Members of this House. It was to the effect that the Finance Committee be requested to explore and report to the Council the possibilities of making up for the loss of revenue involved. I do not say, in any spirit of criticism or of complaint, but only as a matter of information, that after mature consideration the Finance Committee was not able to say anything more helpful than 'it had no remarks to offer.' That was the state of things till 1927.

" On the 22nd October of that year, another resolution was again passed by the Legislative Council recommending that total prohibition of drink in the Madras Presidency within a course of 20 years should be declared to be the goal of the Government. I say that, both of these resolutions, for the passing of which, the party to which I have the honour to belong very greatly contributed, have my fullest acceptance, but with regard to the methods to be adopted to put these resolutions into operation . . . (A voice from the Opposition: There the trouble comes). Of course, trouble does come, but on that account I do not in the least mean to say that the duty cast upon a Minister of carrying into effect the resolutions of this hon. House, should in the

[Mr. S. Kumaraswami Reddiyar] [30th January 1931]

least be evaded. (Hear, hear, from the Opposition benches.) I know that my hon. Predecessor, after this resolution was passed, seriously considered the question of how best he could carry it out. Of course, hon. Members know that there is an Excise Advisory Committee, which is constituted out of the Members of this House itself. The question was put before the Excise Advisory Committee (A voice from the Opposition: Was that body constituted by election?) Hon. Members of this House are hon. Members whether they come in by election or by nomination. (Hear, hear.) I may say that the majority of the members in that Advisory Committee consist of elected Members of this House, and that Committee resolved that the first essential step was the creation of an active public opinion throughout the Presidency against drink and of educating the masses on the evils of drink. It was in pursuance of this recommendation of the Excise Advisory Committee that a Central Propaganda Board and the corresponding district committees in the several districts were constituted. I do not mean to say, let me not be mistaken to say, that all measures of prohibition should wait till everybody in the districts has been converted to the view that it is an evil thing to drink and that drink should be prohibited. But, I would submit to the hon. Members of this House that it is very very necessary to have at least some measure of popular support before Government undertake to introduce any measures of total prohibition.

“ We have heard a great deal of criticism against these propaganda boards which have been constituted in the several districts. I know that there is a great difference of opinion as to whether these boards, constituted as they are at present, and functioning as they do at present, are the best possible agencies for carrying out the anti-drink propaganda work which, in the intention of the original organizers, they should undertake. That subject-matter is not particularly before the House when it is considering this resolution. There is another resolution which has been tabled by an hon. Member who belongs to my own party, which if it is reached at all, would give occasion for hon. Members of this House to express their views on the subject, but the difference of opinion, which exists with regard to these boards, is a matter which the Government have already observed; and whether these boards ought to be continued and if they are to be continued, whether their methods of work do not need improvement, are questions which are engaging the attention of the Government. Whether these agencies are to operate hereafter or not, I am sure hon. Members of this House would admit that it will be very very helpful indeed if agencies of some type or other engage themselves in propaganda work and succeed in creating public opinion favourable to the introduction of measures for total prohibition.

“ I may say just a word or two as regards what has been done with a view to reach this ultimate goal of total prohibition. In the district of Salem, thanks to the activities not only of the district propaganda committee but also of other non-official agencies of the type which my hon. Friend Mr. Daniel Thomas referred to, the ground has been

30th January 1931]

[Mr. S. Kumaraswami Reddiyar]

prepared for introducing a considerable measure of reform. Sir, I am referring, when speaking of other non-official agencies, to that co-operative staff which is engaged in doing rural reconstruction work in that district under the guidance of Diwan Bahadur R. Ramachandra Rao, who has been interesting himself a great deal in this work of temperance reform. In areas in which Government found that there was a good body of opinion in favour of such reform being introduced, they did introduce total prohibition in the sense that all the shops there, toddy, arrack and foreign liquor, were abolished; and I am glad to say that the experiments that have so far been tried have been so successful that in January 1931 we have extended this dry area by another fairly considerable bit. Not only in this district of Salem but in other districts also, similar experiments are being tried. In the district of Tanjore, in two taluks, which I should submit, must be considered to be a fairly big area, in the taluks of Shiyali and Tirutturaipundi, all arrack shops and foreign liquor shops were as a temporary measure abolished for a few years (Diwan Bahadur R. N. Arogyaswami Mudaliyar: 'What about toddy?'). Now, in January 1931, the Government have sanctioned their abolition without any limitation of time—it was temporary till now and we found that the experiment has so far succeeded that it was time enough to remove that limitation. My hon. Friend opposite asks me 'What about toddy?'. I have been saying, Sir, that we have been trying only experiments. The experiments do necessarily mean that some restrictions are imposed; the restrictions may be in respect of area or in respect of the intoxicants that are prohibited. In Salem I referred to areas, but it is not the whole area of a taluk in which prohibition was introduced. In the taluks of Shiyali and Tirutturaipundi, it is not all liquor shops that have been abolished, but the worst of the liquors that people were indulging in have been prohibited, i.e., arrack and foreign liquor (Diwan Bahadur R. N. Arogyaswami Mudaliyar: 'Then, it is not total prohibition'). Similarly, in other districts, in the district of Ramnad also in two fairly big taluks, Paramakudi and Tiruvadanaï, all arrack shops and all foreign liquor shops have been abolished. I may say that the experiment made there has not met with the same measure of success as it did in the taluks of Shiyali and Tirutturaipundi, but the Government hope to make the experiment there also quite as successful as in the Tanjore district, by certain further measures that have been taken, namely, by rationing the supply to the border shops of these two taluks and also by appointing some additional staff to prevent smuggling and illicit distillation. In two taluks of the Tinnevely district also, experiments have been tried, but as my hon. Friend Mr. Daniel Thomas has pointed out, the areas—at any rate, a portion of the area—that was selected, has not been found particularly suitable. These are some of the measures which the Government have undertaken in pursuance of the resolutions that have been passed by this hon. House.

“Of course, it would satisfy enthusiasts in total prohibition—as most of us are—if by one stroke of the pen it was said that all the shops

[Mr. S. Kumaraswami Reddiyar] [30th January 1931]

in the Presidency of Madras should be closed on the 1st April 1931. But, I would ask hon. Members who put forward a proposition of that kind, to consider what all that means? I doubt if at any time it would be practicable: but I should submit to hon. Members of this House, at this particular moment it is an experiment that is almost impossible. (Diwan Bahadur R. N. Arogyaswami Mudaliyar: Nobody asked for it.) Well, Sir, if even in a district, it is going to be enforced, that is to say, if total prohibition is going to be thrust upon a mass of unwilling people, it would mean enormous cost. (An Opposition voice: What is the cost?). The cost has been calculated; but I cannot be sure of the exact figures; but it would be something enormous and hon. Members of this House know the present financial position of this province.

3-30
p.m.

“ This province started the era of the present constitution with a large balance to its credit. That balance has been rapidly disappearing and it is feared that by the end of 1931-32, so little will be left out of this balance that we shall not have any reserve for a lean year at all. I should certainly be most delighted to do something striking by taking a bold step towards prohibition. I am as enthusiastic over it as any hon. Member sitting opposite to me; but I do painfully feel that the present is not the best moment for doing anything striking or bold, the financial liabilities involved being so immense. Of course, if the financial position improves, as we all expect it to improve, certainly a good deal more in the direction of prohibition can be done than it has been found possible to do in the past. I do not mean to say that no district can ever become a suitable unit for the purpose of total prohibition. I only say it is not possible at present. Favourable public opinion may develop rapidly and it may soon become possible for one whole district to be made dry. But, as I said, experiments have to be started in limited areas or in a limited manner as the Government are doing now. I would also appeal to hon. Members of this House not to judge of the pace at which progress can be made in the future by the results that have been achieved in the past. When new measures are undertaken, the initial difficulties are so great that progress is bound to be very slow in the beginning: but once we have made a start and when once public opinion rallies round, our way will be much easier and progress much more rapid. Let me assure the House that it is not the mere sincerity of my professions on which I ask them to depend. As I said already, the Government are making and will continue to make honest and sincere endeavours to meet as rapidly as they can the wishes of this Council as expressed in the resolutions I have referred to above. It is not possible for one circumstanced as I am, at present, not only under the limitations of diarchy of which hon. Members opposite know so much, but also under the present conditions of finance in this province to give any greater assurance. I can only trust that the hon. Members of this House will be satisfied with this assurance, and I fully hope that it would be possible to give better results in the years to come, than in years that has passed.”

* Diwan Bahadur R. N. AROGYASWAMI MUDALIYAR:—“ Mr. President, Sir, I cannot imagine a more unsatisfactory speech than that we

30th January 1931] [Mr. R. N. Arogyaswami Mudaliyar]

have just heard from the hon. Minister for Excise. If I must make a speech condemning the remarks that he has made and also the implications thereof, I cannot do better than read the speech made on the floor of this House by the hon. Chief Minister when he was Leader of the Opposition, last March. But I do not wish to weary the House by quoting them. I would only speak on two points. It is this morning that during question time I asked the Government why they should not adopt retrenchment under establishment charges if there is financial stringency. Sir, this difficulty has been facing Government ever since the demand for total prohibition was first made, and I am sure this financial difficulty will always exist unless Government take measures to get over it. Sir, this same difficulty was met with in 1920-21 and it was this which necessitated the appointment of the Retrenchment Committee; and I asked this morning why Government should not adopt that policy now. Further I showed to them how Lord Willingdon in his regime ordered the reduction of establishment charges by about one-fifth. I ask why not carry a similar retrenchment this year."

The hon. Diwan Bahadur S. KUMARASWAMI REDDIYAR:—"I am going to effect that."

Diwan Bahadur R. N. AROGYASWAMI MUDALIYAR:—"I am glad to hear it. Well, then I shall not dwell on that point."

"I will now proceed to the second point, and that is about the limitations of diarchy. It is mere claptrap to say that 'we are hampered by the limitations of diarchy.' I ask the hon. Ministers 'why not you use your powers?' Why not you be courageous and say boldly to the Reserved Half, 'the public opinion is strong in favour of total prohibition. The Council are in dead earnest about it. We cannot go against their wishes. Unless you accede to this, we cannot remain in office.' Why not you say this to His Excellency the Governor. Why not tell him, 'Unless you accede to the wishes of the people we cannot remain in office.' I assure you that we, the Opposition, will refuse to take up office. (Hear, hear.) (A voice: What did you do when you were in power?) I am not going to waste the time of the House by answering you. I say it is not diarchy that stands in your way; but it is want of courage to stand up and say that 'unless you grant this to us we cannot remain in office.' I once more tell you on behalf of the entire Opposition (hear, hear), if you resign, we will not accept office. Let the Transferred Half of the Government be taken over by the Governor and let the administration be carried on by him. Do it if you can; if not let us have no more speeches of this sort on the floor of this House."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"I think the House is ready for a us have no more speeches of this sort on the floor of this House."

"The question is—

'To substitute in line 2 for the words 'at once' the words 'from 1st April next'.'"

The motion was carried.

[30th January 1931]

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The question is, in line 2 for the words 'one district' substitute the words 'two districts'."

The motion was carried.

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"I will now put the main resolution as amended to the vote of the House. The question is—

'This Council recommends to the Government that total prohibition should be introduced from 1st April next at least in two districts in this Presidency'."

The motion was put and declared lost. Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed demanded a poll and the House divided thus:—

Ayes.

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| 1. Pandit Ganala Ramamurti. | 17. Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan. |
| 2. Swami A. S. Sahajanandam. | 18. " Ahmed Miran. |
| 3. Dr. P. Subbarayan. | 19. " Basheer Ahmed Sayeed. |
| 4. Diwan Bahadur R. N. Arogya-swami Mudaliyar. | 20. " K. P. V. S. Muhammad Meera Rowther. |
| 5. Yakub Hasan Sahib Bahadur. | 21. " A. B. Shetty. |
| 6. Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar. | 22. " A. Pl. N. V. Chinnu Pillai alias Nadimuthu Pillai. |
| 7. Rao Bahadur T. A. Ramalingam Chettiyar. | 23. " K. A. Nachiappa Goundar. |
| 8. Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Ayyangar. | 24. " K. S. Sivasubrahmaniam Ayyar. |
| 9. " Sami Venkatachalam Chetti. | 25. " U. C. Subrahmaniam Bhatt. |
| 10. " P. C. Muthu Chettiyar. | 26. " A. Ranganatha Mudaliyar. |
| 11. Khan Bahadur P. Khalif-ul-lah Sahib. | 27. " K. Koti Reddi. |
| 12. Mr. T. S. Ramaswami Ayyar. | 28. " C. R. Parthasarathi Ayyangar. |
| 13. " T. M. Narayanawami Pillai. | 29. Rao Bahadur C. Natesa Mudaliyar. |
| 14. B. Pocker Sahib Bahadur. | 30. Rao Sahib V. I. Cuniswami Pillai. |
| 15. Mr. M. A. Manikkavelu Nayakar. | |
| 16. " V. P. Narayanan Nambiyar. | |

Noes.

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| 1. The hon. Khan Bahadur Sir Mahmud Usman Sahib Bahadur. | 19. Mr. G. Ranganatha Mudaliyar. |
| 2. " Diwan Bahadur Sir M. Krishnan Nayar. | 20. " N. Siva Raj. |
| 3. " Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell. | 21. Subadar-Major S. A. Nanjappa Bahadur. |
| 4. " Mr. H. G. Stokes. | 22. Mr. M. B. Rangaswami Reddi. |
| 5. " Diwan Bahadur S. Kumaraswami Reddiyar. | 23. Rao Bahadur C. S. Rathnasabhapati Mudaliyar. |
| 6. " Mr. P. T. Rajan. | 24. Diwan Bahadur M. Gopalaswami Mudaliyar. |
| 7. " Diwan Bahadur B. Muniswami Nayudu. | 25. Mr. B. P. Sesha Reddi. |
| 8. Rao Bahadur G. Jagannadha Raju. | 26. " P. V. Rajagopala Pillai. |
| 9. Mr. W. P. A. Soundara Pandian. | 27. " C. Indrayya. |
| 10. " H. R. Pate. | 28. " P. Bayappa Reddi. |
| 11. " H. A. Watson. | 29. " A. Kondappa. |
| 12. " R. Madanagopal Nayudu. | 30. " T. Narasa Reddi. |
| 13. " S. V. Ramamurti. | 31. " R. M. Palat. |
| 14. " Hilton Brown. | 32. " P. K. Ramachandra Padayachi. |
| 15. " T. Sundara Rao Nayudu. | 33. Rao Bahadur R. K. Venugopal Nayudu. |
| 16. Khan Sahib Syed Tajudin Sahib Bahadur. | 34. Rao Sahib V. Dharmalingam Pillai. |
| 17. Mr. M. D. T. Ranganatha Mudaliyar. | 35. Kumara Raja of Venkatagiri. |
| 18. " K. P. Raman Menon. | 36. Mr. M. A. Muthiah Chettiyar. |
| | 37. " S. A. Annamalai Chettiyar. |

30th January 1931]

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| 38. Rao Sahib P. Subrahmanyam Chetti. | 46. Mr. H. F. P. Hearson. |
| 39. Rao Sahib C. Jayaram Nayudu. | 47. „ C. Basu Dev. |
| 40. Mr. A. Harischandrudu. | 48. Rao Bahadur S. Ellappa Chettiyar. |
| 41. „ K. Kesava Ramamurti. | 49. Mr. A. Ramakrishna Reddi. |
| 42. Sriman M. G. Patnaik Mahasayo. | 50. „ G. Sriramulu. |
| 43. Mr. N. Gajapati Raju. | 51. „ H. M. Jagannatham. |
| 44. „ D. V. Narasimhaswami. | 52. „ S. N. Dorai Raja. |
| 45. „ R. Foulkes. | 53. „ G. R. Premayya. |
| | 54. Rao Sahib B. Venkataramayya. |

Neutral.

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| 1. Mrs. Alamelumanga Thajaramma. | 5. Mr. K. Pattabhiramayya. |
| 2. Mr. M. Devadasan. | 6. Khan Bahadur T. M. Moidu Sahib Bahadur. |
| 3. „ D. Thomas. | |
| 4. Rao Sahib C. Kolanda Reddi. | |

Ages 30. Noes 54. Neutral 6.

The motion was lost.

(2) ILL-TREATMENT OF DEPRESSED CLASSES IN THE DEVAKOTTAI SUBDIVISION.

Mr. W. P. A. SOUNDARA PANDIAN:—“ Mr. President, Sir, I beg to move the following resolution that stands in my name:—

‘ This Council recommends to the Government to appoint a Committee of both officials and non-officials to investigate into, and to report on, the ill-treatment of the depressed classes in the Devakottai subdivision of the Ramnad district as alleged in the memorandum submitted to Government by the President of the Ramnad District Adi-Dravida Mahajana Sabha.’

“ In moving this resolution I have to bring to the notice of this House that the social custom that prevails in this Presidency is solely responsible for the bad treatment of the members of the depressed classes which they are getting from the so-called high caste people. To eradicate this evil some honest measure both by non-officials and officials should be taken. The non-officials, specially of the southern districts, have failed to do this, and we expected that officials at least would take up this question into consideration. But they too failed in their duty even after it was brought to their notice as late as 1st October 1930, when some instances where the members of the depressed classes of a certain section in the Ramnad district were very badly treated were brought to the notice of the officials of the locality by my friends, Mr. Ramachandran and Mr. Ponnuswami Pillai, who are respectable people of the district.

“ Nothing has been done till now and I do not know what has been done by the officials. No good effect has accrued. My only regret in this particular case, Sir, is that it is very unfortunate that the Kallar community should be brought into ridicule. As a matter of fact, Sir, the ill-treatment of the Adi-Dravidas has become a matter of every-day occurrence and especially is it the case in the districts of Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevely. We know that similar instances occur frequently and so we want to put an end to this sort of ill-treatment ; and my only desire is to get a committee appointed to investigate into the matter

3-45
p.m.